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ABSTRACT

The "language struggle" has been a focus of disagreement throughout South Africa's educational history. In contemporary South Africa, the issue of the language used as a medium of instruction has been most controversial in black education, where the government's policy of initial native language instruction has been widely denounced as an attempt to retribalize black South Africans. The native language policy controversy grows from the historical language struggle in the white community, which deeply influenced government policy toward black education. Before 1800, education was largely controlled by the Dutch, and even the French Huguenots were assimilated into the Dutch community. British occupation around 1800 marked the beginning of serious anglicization of the Cape and legal establishment of English as the official language. Antagonism grew between Boers and English, and English-medium instruction was inconsistent. In 1892, a law left the choice of medium of instruction up to the parents. The Afrikaans language movement pressed for native-language instruction among Afrikaans children. The 1910 Act of Union made both English and Dutch official languages, affirming bilingualism in education. While the language issue for white education is now largely settled, language remains a highly divisive issue in black education, with blacks largely rejecting native-language-medium schooling. (MSE)

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THE "LANGUAGE STRUGGLE" IN SOUTH AFRICA:

EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Timothy Reagan
Central Connecticut State University

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> South Africa's educational history has given lie to the assertion often made that the language question is a purely educational matter and not a political one. . . the role of the two official languages in the schools has become one of the most important national issues in South Africa, politically as well as educationally.[1]

The **taalstryd**, or "language struggle," has been a central point of disagreement and debate throughout the history of South African education.[2] In contemporary South Africa, the "language medium" question has been most controversial in black education, where the government's policy of initial mother tongue instruction has been widely denounced as an attempt to retribalize black South Africans.[3] An adequate understanding and analysis of the mother tongue policy, however, requires a familiarity with and sensitivity to the historical "language struggle" which took place in the white community in South Africa, since that struggle has deeply influenced government policy on black education in the country. In this paper, an

attempt is made to provide an historical overview of the "language struggle" as it emerged and developed in white education in South Africa, and to relate this development to current language policies in black education.

Schooling by the *Meesters*: 1652 to 1806

Education under the Dutch East India Company has been labelled the "Dark Ages" of South African education,[4] and not without good reason. Education was largely controlled by the Dutch Reformed Church, and what schooling was available in the Cape was almost entirely religious in nature. As Pells has noted,

> . . . formal education was synonomous with instruction in the doctrine of the Dutch Reformed Church, in Bible history, psalm singing and reading and writing sufficient for qualification for church membership.[5]

During this period, schooling took place in any convenient location (including, on occasion, in barn lofts and the like),[6] and was conducted by either the **Sieckentrooster** ("Comforter of the Sick," a relatively low-level Church functionary) or by itinerate **meesters**.[7] Language was not an issue in such schooling, since the vast majority of the white population during the first century and a half of colonization of the Cape spoke Dutch (albeit of a number of disparate dialects), and so the use of High Dutch as the sole educational medium was not questioned.[8] The only noteworthy exception to this general practice occurred in 1687, with the arrival at the Cape of some one hundred and sixty Huguenot families. While both the Directors of the Dutch East India Company and the Cape Governors were

clearly committed to the assimilation of the Huguenots into the existing Dutch community at the Cape,[9] they nonetheless allowed the presence of two French-medium schools during "the period of adjustment."[10] This "period of adjustment" proved to be a short one, as the Governors had no doubt hoped, and within a single generation the Huguenots had disappeared as an ethnically and linguistically distinct population in Cape society.

British Colonial Education at the Cape

The British occupation of the Cape took place in three stages between 1795 (the first occupation) and 1806,[11] although for three years in the midst of this period (February 1803 through January 1806) the Batavian Republic (the United Netherlands) actually controlled the colony.[12] Indeed, it was only in 1814-1815 that the British were able to take formal possession of the Cape, as a consequence of a tripartite arrangement among Britain, the United Netherlands, and Sweden.[13] This may in part help to explain the relatively liberal approach taken by the British during the period 1806 to 1814 toward Dutch at the Cape -- an approach characterized by one educational historian as marked by "considerable freedom in the use of their language both in church and state."[14] Perhaps of greater importance, however, was the demographic composition of the colony, since the Boers (as the Dutch settlers came to be known) constituted well over ninety percent of the white population of the Cape during this period.[15]

This period of tolerance was short-lived, however, as the British made clear their intention to remain permanently in the Cape. As early as 1809, General Collin had advised, "Import English teachers and the next

generation will be Englishmen,"[16] and by 1814 efforts were already underway to encourage the teaching of English by offering higher pay to teachers who spoke the language. The British policy of anglicization, which was in essence an "attempt to convert the Cape into a British colony in spirit as well as in law,"[17] was most closely identified with Lord Charles Somerset.[18] Somerset, though, was merely carrying out a policy that had widespread support in Britain. As Theal commented in his **Progress of South Africa**,

> They [the Boers] were only a little over thirty thousand in number, and it seemed [to the British] absurd that such a small body of people should be permitted to perpetuate ideas and customs that were not English in a country that had become a part of the British Empire.[19]

British efforts to achieve the anglicization of the Cape were concentrated in two areas. The first entailed the importation of a sizable number of immigrants from the British Isles (including parties not only from England, but also Scotland, Ireland and Wales) -- a policy later attempted elsewhere in the Empire as well.[20] In the South African case, approximately four thousand British settlers were brought to the eastern Cape in 1820, partly as a defense against the Xhosa, but more importantly as an attempt to ensure British cultural and linguistic hegemony in the Cape.[21]

The second area in which British efforts at anglicization were concentrated entailed the legal establishment of English as the colony's official language. This was done by proclamation in 1822, and took effect in January of 1825. From that point on, all official documents (and from

January of 1827 on, all court proceedings) had to be in English.[22] Further, teachers were imported from Scotland, and free English schools were started in the more populated sections of the colony.[23] Even the Dutch Reformed Church was not ignored as an agent of cultural and linguistic transfer, as vacant pulpits were filled by young Scottish clerics.[24]

The results of the British efforts to anglicize the Boers were not especially successful. Rather, the policy resulted in the further alienation of the vast majority of the white population from the government, and provided more tinder for the growing antagonism toward the British among the Boers.[25] Finally,

> As a means of altering the language of the great body of Europeans [whites] in the country, these measures were an utter failure. In truth, they operated in the contrary direction, for hundreds of parents who otherwise would have had their children taught English now refused to do so . . .[26]

Despite the intentions of the British, however, the policy of English medium instruction in schools in the Cape was observed as much in breach as in practice. Not only were there private, Dutch-medium schools (such as the **Tot Nut van 't Algemeen**) in the colony,[27] but the use of Dutch in schools in rural areas was also widely (if tacitly) tolerated. The "Education Act" of 1865 made note of this situation, and while requiring that the medium of instruction in all First and Second Class public schools be English, nonetheless allowed Third Class schools (those most likely to

be Dutch-medium) twleve months before compliance would be required[28] -- a compliance that does not appear to have been pursued.

By the end of the nineteenth century, it had become apparent that the language medium question would require a somewhat more tolerant approach than that which had been pursued (at least **de jure** if generally not **de facto**) by the British. The Cape Education Commission of 1892, after testimony from a variety of witnesses (including the historian George Theal),[29] advocated leaving the choice of medium of instruction to parents, even where this would entail special provision for teachers capable of using both Dutch and English.[30]

***Taal en Volk*: Language and the Rise of Afrikanerdom**

Thus far, we have focused our attention on the evolution of educational policy devoted to the "language medium" question, and our concerns have necessarily been centered on the struggle between Dutch and English in Cape Colony. The nineteenth century also experienced the emergence of the Afrikaans language movement, however, as well as an upsurge of Afrikaner nationalism (manifested, among other things, in the "Great Trek" and the establishment of the two Boer republics in the interior of the country). It is to a discussion of these interrelated developments, and of their implications for the "language struggle" in education, that we now turn.

The recognition of Afrikaans as a language distinct from Dutch was relatively late in coming, since the "Kitchen Dutch" of the Boers had been

noticeably different from High Dutch through much of the colony's history.[31] Once begun, however, the movement for the recognition and support of Afrikaans rapidly came to be a central feature of emergent Afrikaner nationalism.[32] Afrikaans was seen as a divinely inspired gift, as the Afrikaner Bond leader S. J. du Toit emphasized when he suggested that, "God gave us the Afrikaans language"[33] -- a view quite in accord with the common belief that the Afrikaners were a new Chosen People, the "Elect of God."[34] It was contrasted to, and compared with, English, the language of the British overlords, and, needless to say, English did not fare well in the comparison. M. T. Steyn, President of the Orange Free State, dismissed English by recalling to mind Tacitus' concern with language imposition:

> Die taal van die veroweraar in die mond van die verowerde is die taal van slawe [The language of the conqueror in the mouth of the conquered is the language of slaves].[35]

The Afrikaans language movement has been well-documented elsewhere,[36] and so we will concentrate only on its educational aspects and implications here.

At the forefront of the Afrikaans language movement was the push for mother tongue instruction for Afrikaans-speaking children.[37] Up to this time, Afrikaner children had been presented with at best a choice between two "semi-opaque media" (English and High Dutch), neither of which was in any meaningful sense native to them.[38] As Afrikaans increasingly came to be accepted as a distinct language in its own right, calls for its use as an educational medium increased, though it was not until some four years

after the creation of the Union of South Africa that efforts were first made to employ Afrikaans as an educational medium.[39]

Educational language policy in the two Boer republics in the nineteenth century formally favored Dutch-medium instruction, as one would expect, although English remained a popular alternative, especially in more fashionable families, until the Anglo-Boer War.[40] Following the war, the British once again sought to impose a policy of anglicization. Lord Milner, for example, ordered that, "Dutch should only be used to teach English, and English to teach everything else."[41] Malherbe has noted that the same perspective is evident in the Smuts Act of 1907:

> The language regulations may . . . be summarized by saying: Every child **may** learn Dutch, but every child **must** learn English.[42]

The "language struggle" between English South Africans and Afrikaners was still fairly intense, then, in 1910 when the Act of Union took place. The creation of the Union of South Africa nevertheless introduced a number of new features to the "language struggle," and it is to an examination of these changes that we now turn.

The Union and Education: Toward a Bilingual Society

The Act of Union was intended to promote a "conciliation between Briton and Boer,"[43] and nowhere does the attempt seem to have been more sincere than in the case of language. Dutch (Afrikaans only after 1925) and English were both to be officially recognized languages, but the

National Convention, under the prodding of Barry Hertzog,[44] went much further than this. Article 137 of the Act of Union read:

> Both the English and the Dutch languages shall be official languages of the Union, and shall be treated on a footing of equality , and possess equal freedom, rights and privileges.

This meant that there was a constitutional assurance that there would be equal status for the two languages in all spheres of public business, that the government service would be legally mandated to be bilingual, and that public schooling by its very nature would have to be bilingual in some sense. As Malherbe has commented, "by this measure the way was paved towards securing the advantages of bilingualism for every South African child."[45]

The principle of bilingualism in education was recognized, partly as a response to the Act of Union, in all four provinces of the country, and mother tongue instruction was officially sanctioned in three of the four provinces (in Natal, the choice of medium of instruction was left up to the parents).[46] Nonetheless, a considerable gap often existed between what the law called for (and even guaranteed) and actual educational practice. This problem was officially recognized with the establishment of an "Education Language Commission" in 1915 with a mandate to look into complaints that Dutch was not receiving its legal due. Not surprisingly, the Commission's findings generally supported the complaints.[47]

Far more controversial, however, was the issue of school organization -- whether the goal of bilingualism should be met through separate,

parallel or dual-medium systems of education.[47] Given the importance of these three alternatives for South African schooling, a few comments on each type of schooling are in order here. Separate schools are those in which all instruction takes place through the mother tongue, with the second language studied as a subject. Such schools are, essentially, segregated along ethnolinguistic lines. The parallel medium system entails separate mother tongue classes (comparable to those found in separate schools), but requires that both groups be taught in a single school. Although such an approach can exaggerate perceptions of cultural and linguistic differences, this need not be the case. Malherbe has noted, for instance, that "the mere fact of having the two sections [English and Afrikaans speakers] in the same school eliminates, under the right principal, much of the bitterness found in many single-medium [separate] schools.[48] Dual-medium programs entail the use of both languages in various ways as educational media, and further, presume the integration of children from both population groups in a single classroom. The debate in South Africa during the years between the Act of Union in 1910 and the electoral victory of the National Party in 1948 was fundamentally one of monolingual versus bilingual schooling, however. At issue were two pedagogical concerns: first, whether Afrikaans and English-speaking children were to be integrated in the school, and second, whether both official languages were to be used as educational media for every child.[49]

Beginning in the 1920s, Afrikaner nationalists brought increasing pressure for the segregation of Afrikaner and English children into separate, monolingual schools. Their efforts were supported by both the powerful Dutch Reformed Church and by the **Afrikaner Broederbond**, a semi-

secret organization devoted to Afrikaner political, economic and cultural ascendancy in South African society.[51] We find, for example, a Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church writing that:

> There are indications that our Church must get ready to fight again for the preservation of our separate schools and thereby to assure the continued existence of our Church. It is the firm policy of the Church, strongly reiterated at our last Synod, that our children must be educated in separate schools with Afrikaans as medium . . . not only the salvation of our **volk** but the preservation of our Church depends in large measure on separate schools.[52]

Such a view was shared by Dr. P. J. Meyer, a leader of the **Broederbond** and later the head of the State-run South African Broadcasting Corporation, who extended the critique of dual-medium instruction to its effects on morality:

> . . . all reseachers in this field are agreed that bilingual children show backwardness in development as compared with monolingual children . . . bilingualism leads to moral relativism which reaches right into the religious life of the individual. It is definitely certain that Godlessness is more prevalent among bilingual people than among monolinguals.[53]

In the political arena, the Afrikaner nationalists were represented by the National Party, while those favoring dual-medium schooling idenitified with the United Party. The 1943 elections in South Africa were fought largely on the language medium question,[54] and proved to be a temporary

set-back for the Afrikaner nationalists. The electoral defeat, however, only served to increase tensions,[55] and the propaganda war against dual-medium schools soon gained momentum. With the National Party's victory in 1948, separate medium schools, as one component of "Christian National Education,"[56] became not merely one of a number of competing alternatives, but rather the strongest of the options, and indeed, the "ideal" favored by the State.

Language Policy Under the National Party

Since 1948, there has been a gradual decline in dual-medium schooling in South Africa, and such schooling can be said to have ended completely with the passage of the National Educational Policy Act of 1967 and the implementation of the relevant parts of the Act with Proclamation E809 on 16 May 1969.[57] The Act, which ordered that "the mother tongue must be the medium of instruction,"[58] was actually the culmination of a series of related legislative efforts which had been taken by the National Party during its two decades in power. For example, as early as 1949 a language ordinance had been promulgated which made mother tongue instruction through Standard 8 (the tenth year of schooling) mandatory.[59] This had been followed by the Consolidated Education Ordinance of 1953, which had in effect ended parallel-medium schooling in South Africa.[60] In short, what had been accomplished was the segregation of Afrikaans and English-speaking whites in South Africa, largely as a way of ensuring the maintenance of the Afrikaans language and culture.[61]

The "Language Struggle" and Black Education

The "language struggle" in white education in South Africa is now largely settled, at least for the immediate future, with the Afrikaner nationalists clearly emerging as the victors as English and Afrikaans-speakers attend own-medium schools throughout their educations. Language remains a highly devisive and controversial issue in contemporary black education in South Africa, however.[62] Somewhat ironically, it has been the Afrikaner government which has supported mother tongue schooling for blacks, while blacks themselves have, for the most part, rejected such schooling.

It is this irony that provides a key to understanding the current debate on language policy in black education. The government has consistently favored mother tongue schooling for blacks (and, in fact, for almost all children in the country), but for a number of different kinds of reasons. It is clear that mother tongue programs for blacks are not only consistent with the "ideology of apartheid," but that they function as one of the pillars of apartheid in perpetuating both racial and ethnolinguistic divisions in South African society.[63] Mother tongue schooling for blacks has been employed from the passage of the Bantu Education Act of 1953[64] to the present to support Verwoerdian-style apartheid, and no amount of sugar-coating can change this. The government has used such programs to reinforce ethnic and tribal identity among black schoolchildren, seeking to "divide and conquer" by encouraging ethnolinguistic divisions within the black community. Such programs, by their very nature, in a setting such as that of contemporary South Africa, entail racially segregated schools.[65]

Finally, whatever psychological and pedagogical merits mother tongue programs might have, such benefits are likely to be largely lost where policies are imposed on an unwilling population, as has been the case in black education in South Africa.

From this perspective, it is easy to understand the resistance to mother tongue education found in the black community. The Congress of South African Students (COSAS) has made clear the basic problem with contemporary education -- black and white -- in South Africa:

> The education we receive is meant to keep the South African people apart from one another, to breed suspicion, hatred and violence, and to keep us backward . . . . Education is formulated so as to reproduce this society of racism and exploitation.[66]

Indeed, schooling designed to emphasize ethnic and cultural differences all too often falls prey to this sort of "pluralist dilemma." As Brian Bullivant has observed, programs designed to encourage ethnic identification (such as multicultural education programs in many western nations):

> . . . are ideal methods of controlling knowledge/power, while appearing through symbolic political language to be acting solely from the best of motives in the interests of the ethnic groups themselves.[67]

This has clearly been the case in the South African instance, although few blacks have been taken in by the rhetoric of pluralism.[68]

The second set of reasons used by the South African government, and the Afrikaner educational establishment, to defend mother tongue programs are concerned with pedagogical practice. Mother tongue schooling is widely used internationally, and has achieved general acceptance in many developing societies.[69] Further, such language policies can be used as important components of national development efforts, and are often anti-colonial and anti-imperialistic in nature. In short, a mother tongue approach can be defended on both pedagogical and socio-political grounds. Of course, the South African situation makes something of a mockery of such arguments for the present, since the use of the various black languages in educational settings can hardly be construed to be anti-colonial and anti-imperialistic in nature.

There is also a third set of reasons offered by both the government and some Afrikaner intellectuals in support of mother tongue programs. These reasons are, in essence, "right-based": that is, they are concerned with ensuring certain (admittedly limited) kinds of group and national rights to blacks and others in South African society. Typical of this perspective is the position of the Afrikaans writer and poet N. P. van Wyk Louw, who argued that:

> Once one acknowledges the value of national rights, not only as rights to which one's own group is entitled but as universal human rights, already one has moved beyond the confines of this or that particular group; and one will not then demand them for one's group alone.[70]

Such a position, of course, is hardly acceptable to most blacks in South Africa, who generally reject ***any*** "group-rights" approach, emphasizing rather the need for concern with individual rights. It is, incidentally, this very tension between group rights and individual rights that is at the core of much of the political polarization that characterizes contemporary South African society.

This is not to suggest, however, that the entire argument is invalid. While resistance to mother tongue programs in black education in contemporary South Africa is certainly understandable, it would be a serious mistake to "throw the baby out with the bath." There remain good reasons to believe that initial mother tongue instruction may be the best educational approach for many black children in South Africa, and one can hope that in a more just and humane post-revolutionary South Africa, such arguments and concerns will be given due consideration.[7] It is hardly reasonable to expect that political and ideological factors will be kept out of debates on educational policy, especially in such a highly politicized environment as that of South Africa; perhaps all that we can hope for is that pedagogical factors will be kept "in" in such debates.

NOTES

1. E. G. Malherbe, **Education in South Africa** (Cape Town: Juta, 1977), vol. 2, p. 3.

2. See, for example, B. F. Nel, **Aspekte van die Onderwysontwikkeling in Suid-Afrika** (Cape Town: Haum, 1959), pp. 13-32; F. J. Potgieter and C. B. Swanepoel, **Temas uit die Historiese Pedagogiek** (Pretoria: J. L. van Schaik, 1968), pp. 98-109.

3. See Brian Bunting, **The Rise of the South African Reich** (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964), pp. 212-213; Jennifer Dunja-Blajberg, **Sprach und Politik in Südafrika** (Bonn: Informationsstelle Suidliches Afrika, 1980); B. Hirson, "Language in Control and Resistance in South Africa," **African Affairs** 80, 319 (1981): 219-237; F. Troup, **Forbidden Pastures: Education Under Apartheid** (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1976), pp. 34-35.

4. E. G. Malherbe, **Education in South Africa** (Cape Town: Juta, 1975), vol. 1, p. 19.

5. See E. G. Pells, **300 Years of Education in South Africa** (Cape Town: Juta, 1954), p. 12; T. R. H. Davenport, **South Africa: A Modern History**, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. 20.

6. Pells, **300 Years**, p. 13; Malherbe, **Education in South Africa**, vol. 1, p. 30.

7. Malherbe, **Education in South Africa**, vol. 1, pp. 28-30, 36-37.

8. As Davenport notes, "An originally diverse European settler population was thus coaxed into cultural uniformity, with the language of

the Netherlands and the religion of the Reformed Church for cement." **South Africa**, p. 19.

9. See Resol. HH. XVII (30 October 1690): "Besloten schoolmeesters te bestellen die beyde talen machtig syn; soodat de Kinderen beyde talen leeren, en door dat middel dese te worden in gelyft: *nie twee naties ieder apart, maar onder malkanderen gemelleert*, beyde aan Stellenbosch en Drakensteyn."

10. Malherbe, **Education in South Africa**, vol. 1, p. 27. Such a school, conducted by a M. Paul Roux, was opened in 1700 in Drakenstein.

11. Davenport, **South Africa**, p. 29; C. F. Kotze, "A New Regime, 1806-1834," in C. F. J. Muller, ed., **Five Hundred Years: A History of South Africa** (Pretoria: Academica, 1969), pp. 117-145; M. C. van Zyl, "Transition, 1795-1806," in Muller, **Five Hundred Years**, pp. 101-116; Eric A. Walker, **A History of Southern Africa** (London: Longmans, 1968), pp. 124-157.

12. For a discussion of education during this time, known as the "de Mist Period," see D. H. Cilliers, **Die Stryd van die Afrikaanssprekende in Kaapland om sy Skool** (Cape Town: Balkema, 1953), pp. 20-27; P. S. du Toit and W. L. Nell, **Onderwys in Kaapland, 1652-1980** (Pretoria: J. L. van Schaik, 1970), pp. 29-38.

13. Davenport, **South Africa**, p. 29.

14. M. E. McKerron, **A History of Education in South Africa** (Pretoria: J. L. van Schaik, 1934), p. 119.

15. Cilliers, **Die Stryd**, pp. 30-31; Malherbe, **Education in South Africa**, vol. 1, pp. 42, 57.

16. Letter in Public Record Office, London (Vol. C.O. 48, 4 & 5).

17. Davenport, **South Africa**, p. 31.

18. Ibid., pp. 30-31. See also Cilliers, **Die Stryd**, pp. 33-37; Malherbe, **Education in South Africa**, vol. 1, pp. 56-58; Nell, **Aspekte van die Onderwysontwikkeling**, pp. 13-14.

19. G. M. Theal, **Progress of South Africa in This Century** (19th Cent. Series), p. 110.

20. Davenport, **South Africa**, p. 31.

21. Ibid. See also André du Toit and Hermann Giliomee, **Afrikaner Political Thought: Analysis and Documents** (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983), vol. 1, pp. 24-25.

22. The Proclamation is reprinted in F. A. van Jaarsveld, ed., **Honderd Basiese Dokumente by die Studie van die Suid-Afrikaanse Geskiedenis, 1648-1961** (Bloemfontein: Nasou, 1980), p. 41.

23. See Timothy Reagan, "Language and Politics in South Africa: The 'Language Medium' Question in Education," **International Education Journal** 2, 1/2 (1985): forthcoming.

24. Ibid. This practice did not, however, actually have the intended outcome. "[The Scottish clergy] were sent to the Netherlands to learn Dutch before going to the Cape. Their descendants tended in practice to become absorbed in the Afrikaner community which they had come to serve, and in no sense became agents of cultural conquest. Nor did they constitute a liberal wing in the N. G. [Dutch Reformed] synod." Davenport, **South Africa**, p. 32.

25. Malherbe, **Education in South Africa**, vol. 1, p. 69. G. M. Theal, **Belangrijke Historische Dokumenten**, vol. 3 (1911), p. 287, notes that, "above all the substitution of the English for the Dutch language . . . was very keenly felt."

26. Malherbe, **Education in South Africa**, vol. 1, p. 58.

27. See du Toit and Nell, **Onderwys in Kaapland**, pp. 36-37.

28. See Malherbe, **Education in South Africa**, vol. 1, p. 97.

29. See Brian Rose and Raymond Turner, eds., **Documents in South African Education** (Johannesburg: Ad. Donker, 1975), p. 150.

30. Cilliers, **Die Stryd**, pp. 128-129; Nell, **Aspekte van die Onderwysontwikkeling**, p. 18.

31. See, for example, Johann Combrink, "Afrikaans: Its Origin and Development," in L. W. Lanham and K. P. Prinsloo, eds., **Language and Communication Studies in South Africa** (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 69-95; T. J. R. Botha, "Afrikaans: Origin and Lexical Development," in István Fodor and Claude Hagège, eds., **Language Reform: History and Future** (Hamburg: Buske Verlag, 1983), vol. 1, pp. 213-237.

32. See T. Dunbar Moodie, **The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaner Civil Religion** (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1975), pp. 39-51.

33. Quoted in J. Alton Templin, **Ideology on a Frontier: The Theological Foundations of Afrikaner Nationalism, 1652-1910** (London: Greenwood Press, 1984), p. 291.

34. Ibid., pp. 243-247.

35. Quoted in H. A. Steyn, **Moedertaal-Onderwys: Afrikaans vir die Afrikaner** (Bloemfontein: Nasionale Pers, n.d.), p. i.

36. See, for example, S. P. E. Boshoff, **Volk en Taal van Suid-Afrika** (Pretoria: De Bussy, 1921); L. N. Botha, **Die Stryd Om Moedertaalonderwys in Natal** (Johannesburg: F.A.K., 1945); L. T. du Plessis, **Afrikaans in Beweging** (Bloemfontein: Patmos, 1986); Ken Jordaan, "The Origins of the Afrikaners and Their Language, 1652-1720: A Study in Miscegenation and Creole," **Race** 15 (1974): 461-495; Marius F. Valkoff, "Descriptive Bibliography of the

Linguistics of Afrikaans," in Thomas A. Sebeok, ed., **Current Trends in Linguistics** (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), Vol. 7, pp. 455-500.

37. See Botha, **Die Stryd Om Moedertaalonderwys**; Potgieter and Swanepoel, **Temas**, pp. 98-109.

38. Malherbe, **Education in South Africa**, vol. 2, p. 12.

39. See H. Kroes, "Afrikaans in Education," in Lanham and Prinsloo, **Language and Communication Studies**, pp. 169-186.

40. See A. L. Behr, **New Perspectives in South African Education** (Durban: Butterworths, 1978), p. 18.

41. Quoted in Davenport, **South Africa**, p. 151.

42. Malherbe, **Education in South Africa**, vol. 1, p. 341.

43. Davenport, **South Africa**, pp. 173-175. See also Leonard Thompson, "The Compromise of Union," in Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson, eds., **The Oxford History of South Africa** (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), vol. 2, pp. 325-364.

44. Davenport, **South Africa**, pp. 173-174; Thompson, "The Compromise of Union," pp. 361-362.

45. Malherbe, **Education in South Africa**, vol. 1, p. 414.

46. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 415.

47. Ibid.

48. See E. G. Malherbe, **The Bilingual School: A Study of Bilingualism in South Africa** (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1946), p. 4.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid., pp. 37-38.

51. See Rene de Villiers, "Afrikaner Nationalism," in Wilson and Thompson, **The Oxford History of South Africa**, vol. 2, pp. 365-423; Moodie, **The Rise of Afrikanerdom**, pp. 96-115. A number of important Afrikaner

cultural organizations, including the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (F.A.K.), played significant roles as well. See Dan O'Meara, **Volkskapitalism: Class, Capital and Ideology in the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism, 1934-1948** (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 73-77, 245.

52. **Die Kerkbode** (5 March 1941).

53. P. J. Meyer, **Moedertaal en Tweetaligheid** (Verkennersreeks, No. 8, 1945), pp. 41, 43.

54. Malherbe, **Education in South Africa**, vol. 2, p. 82.

55. Ibid., pp. 82-92.

56. See A. L. Behr, **New Perspectives in South African Education**, 2nd ed. (Durban: Butterworths, 1984), pp. 27-28; J. C. Coetzee, **Vraagstukke van die Oproedkundige Politiek** (Pretoria: 1930). For an excellent critique of "Christian National Education" see W. E. Morrow, "'Philosophies of Education' in South Africa: I," **South African Journal of Education** 4, 1 (1984): 35-40, and idem, "'Philosophies of Education' in South Africa: II," **South African Journal of Education** 4, 2 (1984): 84-90.

57. Human Sciences Research Council, **Investigation into Education (Report of the Work Committee: Languages and Language Instruction)** (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1981), p. 37.

58. Act 39 of 1967, Section 2(1)(c).

59. Behr, **New Perspectives in South African Education**, 2nd ed., p. 24.

60. Ibid.

61. Fears about the future of Afrikaans are quite real. See, for example, A. Brink, "The Future of Afrikaans," **Leadership SA** 3, 2 (1984): 29-30, 34; K. P. Prinsloo and M. C. J. van Rensburg, eds., **Afrikaans:**

Stand, Taak, Toekoms (Pretoria: Haum, 1984); J. C. Steyn, **Tuiste in eie Taal: Die Behoud en Bestaan van Afrikaans** (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1980).

62. See Bunting, **The Rise of the South African Reich**, pp.212-218; Dunja-Blajberg, **Sprache und Politik in Südafrika**; Hinson, "Language in Control nad Resistance"; Timothy Reagan, "Language Policy, Politics, and Ideology: The Case of South Africa," **Issues in Education** 2, 2 (1984): 155-164; idem, "The Role of Language Policy in South African Education," **Language Problems and Language Planning** 10, 1 (1986): 1-13.

63. See Dunja-Blajberg, **Sprache und Politik in Südafrika**; Hinson, "Language in Control and Resistance"; Timothy Reagan, "The Politics of Linguistic Apartheid: Language Politics in Black Education in South Africa," **Journal of Negro Education** 56, 3 (1987): 299-312.

64. Bantu Education Act, No. 47 (1953).

65. This is not a logical necessity. See Timothy Reagan and Isaac Ntshoe, "Language Policy in Black Education in South Africa," **Journal of Research and Development in Education** 20, 2 (1986): 1-8. See also Reagan, "The Politics of Linguistic Apartheid."

66. Quoted in P. Christie, **The Right to Learn: The Struggle for Education in South Africa** (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1986), p. 14.

67. Brian Bullivant, **The Pluralist Dilemma in Education: Six Case Studies** (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), p. 241

68. See Timothy Reagan, "The Pluralist Dilemma: Evidence from the South African Case," presented at the 1986 annual meeting of the American Educational Studies Association in Pittsburgh, PA.

69. See, for example, A. Bamgbose, ed., **Mother Tongue Education: The West African Experience** (Paris: UNESCO, 1976); B. Hartford, A. Valdman, and C. Foster, eds., **Issues in International Bilingual Education: The Role of**

the Vernacular (London: Plenum Press, 1982); UNESCO, **The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education** (Paris: UNESCO, 1953).

70. N. P. van Wyk Louw, **Liberale Nasionalisme** (Cape Town: Nasionale Boekhandel, 1958), p. 29. I am grateful to J. C. Steyn for bringing this passage to my attention.

71. See Timothy Reagan, "Considerations on Liberation and Oppression: The Place of English in Black Education in South Africa," **Journal of Thought** 21, 2 (1986): 91-99.